

# Gazette of the United States.

PUBLISHED WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS BY JOHN FENNO, No. 41, BROAD-STREET, NEAR THE EXCHANGE, NEW-YORK.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST, 7, 1790.

[WHOLE No. 138.]

## DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.—No. XVII.

Ses mains, autour du trône, avec confusion,  
Semaient la jalousie, et la division.

THE Guises, in their secret conversations with the King, insinuated, that if the Constable resided at Court, he would be assuming; would think to govern his Majesty like an infant, and even to hold him up to the ferule and the rod. They represented his intimate connections with the Bourbons, the eternal enemies of a crown, to which they had however long aspired. Finally, they suggested, that he could not confide in the Constable, without exposing his life, and the lives of his brothers, to the discretion of people, whose ambition the Kings his predecessors had always dreaded; and whom they had ever held in a state of humiliation, and at a distance from Court. Penetrating genius easily inspires suspicions into contracted minds. Nothing more was wanting to persuade a weak King, to seek a pretext, honourably to dismiss the Constable. As soon as the ceremony of the obsequies of Henry III. was completed, the King overwhelmed him with caresses, signified to him, that not being able, with sufficient dignity to acknowledge his merit, nor the value of the services which he had rendered the Kings his ancestors, he had resolved to discharge him from the cares and burthens of government, too disproportionate to his great age: that he would no longer require of him, any excessive application to business, but would reserve him for some occasions of éclat: that he should always consider him, not as a servant and a subject, but as a venerable father: and that he would give him leave to retire, wherever he saw fit. The Constable easily comprehended that this lesson had been taught the King, by the Guises, through the Queen mother and the Queen of Scots: that it would be useless to remonstrate: and that it was better to receive as a recompense, orders, which his resistance might convert into disgrace. He thanked the King; recommended to him his sons and his nephews, and retired to his castle at Chantilly, ten leagues from Paris, where, he had more than once before, supported vicissitudes of fortune.

As soon as the Queen mother and the Guises, had banished the Constable, they studied to embarrass themselves of the Prince de Condé.

It was easy to foresee, that his fiery temper, and animosity against the Guises, would transport him to attempt all the means imaginable, to change the form of government established.

It may be remarked in this place, that these expressions intimate an idea of reformation of government, and regeneration of nations, like those which prevail at this time, in France, and in many other countries after the example of America. One would conjecture that the Prince of Condé, had it in contemplation to establish committees of correspondence, to call a convention, or national assembly; to deliberate on a rational plan of government, to be adopted by the nation at large. There are, indeed, in history, some traces of a party, who wished for a republican government, about this time: but unfortunately, their ideas of a republic, appear to have been the same, with those which prevail too much at present, in France. Two hundred and fifty years of experience, have not yet brought the nation to advert to the true principles in nature, upon which government is founded. The Marquis of Condorcet, the friend of Turgot and Rochefoucault, so great in geometry, is not more accurate in the science of government, than Etienne de la Boetie, the friend of De Thou and Montaigne. The same reformation is wanting now, that was so necessary in 1550. Whether a sovereignty in one single assembly, constituted by a double representation, as the present assembly is, would have answered then or will succeed now, are questions that hereafter may deserve consideration. It ended formerly, after an hundred years of civil wars, in the simple absolute monarchy of Louis XIVth. Time must determine whether the continued deliberations and exertions of the National Assembly, will finally obtain a balance in their government. This is the point, on which their success will turn, if they fail in this, simple monarchy, or what is more to be dreaded, simple despotism, after long struggles will infallibly return. If the wild idea of annihilating the nobility should spread far, and be long persisted in, the men of letters and the National Assembly, as democratical as they

may think themselves, will find no barrier against despotism. The French, as well as the Greeks, at this time our respectable guests, and all other nations, civilized and uncivilized, have their beloved families, and nothing but despotism ever did or ever can prevent them from being distinguished by the people. These beloved families in France are the nobility. Five eighths of the French Nation are noble. The first French election will therefore, would the attachment of the people to those nobles. In short, the whole power of the nation will fall into their hands, and a commoner will find no chance for an election after a little time, unless he enlist himself under the banner and into the regiment of some nobleman. For the commoners, this project of one assembly, is the most impolitic imaginable. It is the highest flight of aristocracy. To the royal authority it is equally fatal as to the commons. In what manner the nobility ought to be reformed, modified, methodized, and wrought by representation or otherwise, into an independent branch of the legislature? What form of government would have been best for France, under Francis III. and whether the same is not now necessary, under Louis XVIth, are questions too deep and extensive, perhaps for us to determine. But we are very competent to demonstrate two propositions, first, that a sovereignty in a single assembly, cannot secure the peace, liberty or safety of the people. Secondly, that a federative republic, or in other words, a confederation of the republic of Paris, with the republics of the provinces, will not be sufficient to secure the tranquility, liberty, property or lives of the nation. In some future time, it neither business of more importance, nor amusements more agreeable should engage us, we may throw together a few thoughts, upon these questions. This may be done without the slightest apprehension of ever being confuted: for, how we should fail to produce arguments to convince our readers, we know with too much certainty, that time will supply all our defects, and demonstrate for us, the truth of both the propositions.

(To be continued.)

## FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

I HAVE observed, with some concern, a recommendation of Mr. Webster's in the Tablet, No. 137, advising the exercise of Fencing to be used by people of sedentary employments, students, &c. Exercises and amusements in a republican government, should at least, be rational—they should be virtuous—they should be, if possible, useful. I should be glad to know in what the rationale of Fencing consists, or of what use it is? Perhaps we will be told it is of use to enable a man to avenge himself when insulted, or defend himself when attacked. But in all good governments the laws are sufficient to protect all good citizens. I would therefore recommend students and persons engaged in sedentary employments, as a substitute for Fencing, to provide themselves with a few tools of any mechanical branch that they would choose, and which would afford some exercise to the body. No country in the world is better calculated for machinery than America. A student tolerably well versed in Mathematics, and possessed of some of the common tools of a Turner might make some important and useful discoveries in Mechanics—and be of more use to his country than the whole race of Fencers, Cudgellers, and Prize-Fighters, from the creation of the World to the days of Noah Webster.

A disposition to ape the follies and absurdities of Europe has too long prevailed in America; and it is to be lamented that the instructors of our youth should make such a false estimate of things as to advise recreations inconsistent with the laws and constitution of our country, and inimical to the morals of the people. If our youth learn to fence, they must wear swords; because it is a folly to learn a thing for which they will have no use. Thus provided with swords, they will soon find an opportunity of reducing their theory to practice; either by insulting some other person, or conceiving themselves affronted upon the slightest occasion. Edge tools should not be put in the hands of fools or madmen; they are only safe in the hands of men of years and experience, who have seen enough of the world to despise its vanities; but men of this description do not desire them. They are then only proper in the hands

of those whose profession is War—by such let them be worn; but let us not imitate some parts of Europe, where every Journeyman Barber to be met with has, instead of a Curling Tong, a long Rapier by his side. How contemptible and ridiculous it is to see a nation, in profound peace, with every one his sword to his side, as if they were a nation of Ishmaelites where every man's hand was raised against the hand of his neighbor!

O quantum est in rebus inani.

## FRANCE.

### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, May 22.

THIS day the great question on the right of making peace and war was finally determined. The most remarkable speech previous to passing the decree was that of M. le Comte de Mirabeau, who said, that it was not merely his opinion, nor the plan of his decree, that he rose to defend, but, what was far dearer to him, his character, which had been suspected as unfriendly to liberty.

He said, many reports had been circulated to his prejudice; but he valued them not. In order to be useful, he said, he had searched for truth, and that truth he had spoken, at the hazard of displeasing. He then proceeded to defend his plan, and replied to the principal objections started by M. Barnave.

M. Barnave, M. le Marquis de la Fayette, and several other members, then demanded to be heard, but the majority of the Assembly, thinking there had been enough of speaking on the subject, determined to close the debate. And after a number of plans of decrees had been read, the following plan of M. de Mirabeau, amended, obtained the preference by a great majority.

### THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DECREE.

1st. That the right of peace and war being vested in the nation, war shall not be resolved upon, but by a decree of the Legislative Body, which shall be made on the explicit notification of the King, and which shall be sanctioned by his Majesty.

2d. That the care of guarding the kingdom from external attacks and impending dangers, the maintaining its rights and possessions, is committed to the King by the constitution of the State—to him also belonged the maintenance of political connexions abroad, the conduct of negotiations, the appointment of Ambassadors, the power of raising armaments, and making preparations for war, in proportion to those made by neighbouring states; the power of distributing the sea and land forces, as he may judge proper, and of directing their operations in time of war.

3d. That in case of hostilities impending, or actually begun, an ally to assist, or a right to preserve by force of arms, the King shall be bound to give notification thereof without delay to the Legislative Body, and to make known the causes and motives thereof. And if the Legislative body is not sitting at the time, it shall be called immediately by the King.

4th. That if upon such notification being made by the King, the Legislative Body are of opinion that, on the commencing of such hostilities, the Minister, or other agent of the Executive Power, is culpable, the author of such aggression shall be prosecuted as a State criminal. The National Assembly hereby declaring, that the nation renounces for ever all ambition by conquest, and will not employ the forces against the liberties of any people.

5th. That if upon such notification the Legislative Body shall resolve that war ought not to be made, the Executive Power shall be bound immediately to take the necessary steps to prevent or stop hostilities, the Ministers being always held to be responsible for delays.

6th. That in case of an impending war, the Legislative Body shall prolong the Session; and in time of war there shall be no recess. This article is remitted to the Committee of Constitution to be amended.

7th. That every declaration of war shall be made in these terms "By the King, in name of the nation."

8th. That during the course of a war, the Legislative Body shall have a power of requiring the Executive power to negotiate a peace.

9th. That it belongs to the King to negotiate and design all necessary conventions and treaties with foreign Powers for the general good of the State; declaring hereby, that treaties of peace,

alliance, and commerce, shall not be effectual till ratified by the Legislative Body.

roth. That the instant a war ceases the Legislative Body shall fix a day on which the extraordinary troops shall be disbanded, and the army reduced to its usual peace establishment; that the pay of the troops shall not be continued longer than such a day; and if the extraordinary troops shall remain undischarged after such day so appointed, the Minister shall be responsible for the same, and prosecuted as a state criminal; that for that effect, the committee of constitution shall be bound forthwith to examine this article, and prepare a report on the responsibility of Ministers.—*This Decree received the assent of the King.*



LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.  
PUBLISHED

*By Authority.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:  
AT THE SECOND SESSION.

Begun and held at the City of New-York, on Monday the fourth of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

# AN ACT making provision for the Debt of the United States.

WHEREAS justice and the support of public credit require, that provision should be made for fulfilling the engagements of the United States, in respect to their foreign debt, and for funding their domestic debt upon equitable and satisfactory terms:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That receiving out of the monies which have arisen since the last day of December last past, and which shall hereafter arise from the duties on goods, wares and merchandize imported into the United States, and on the tonnage of ships or vessels, the yearly sum of six hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be appropriated from time to time, towards the support of the government of the United States, and their common defence, the residue of the said monies, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as the same shall be received in each year, next after the sum reserved as aforesaid, shall be, and is hereby appropriated to the payment of the interest which shall from time to time become due on the loans heretofore made by the United States in foreign countries; and also to the payment of interest on such further loans as may be obtained for discharging the arrears of interest thereupon, and the whole or any part of the principal thereof; to continue so appropriated until the said loans, as well those already made as those which may be made in virtue of this act, shall be fully satisfied, pursuant to the contracts relating to the same, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. And provided, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to annul or alter any agreement or contract made prior to the passing of this act.

And as new loans are and will be necessary for the payment of the aforesaid arrears of interest, and the instalments of the principal of the said foreign debt due and growing due, and may also be found expedient for effecting an entire alteration in the state of the same:

Be it further enacted, That the president of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized, to cause to be borrowed on behalf of the United States, a sum or sums, not exceeding in the whole twelve million of dollars; and that so much of this sum as may be necessary to the discharge of the said arrears and instalments, and (if it can be effected upon terms advantageous to the United States) to the paying off the whole of the said foreign debt be appropriated solely to those purposes: And the President is moreover further authorized to cause to be made such other contracts respecting the said debt as shall be found for the interest of the said States: *Provided nevertheless*, That no engagement nor contract shall be entered into which shall preclude the United States from reimbursing any sum or sums borrowed within fifteen years after the same shall have been lent or advanced.

And whereas it is desirable to adapt the nature of the provision to be made for the domestic debt, to the present circumstances of the United States, as far as it shall be found practicable, consistently with good faith and the rights of the creditors; which can only be done by a voluntary loan on their part:

Be it therefore further enacted, That a loan to the full amount of the said domestic debt be, and the same is hereby proposed; and that books for receiving subscriptions to the said loan be opened at the Treasury of the United States, and by a commissioner to be appointed in each of the said States, on the first day of October next, to continue open until the last day of September following, inclusively, and that the sums which shall be subscribed thereto, be payable in certificates issued for the said debt, according to their specie value, and computing the interest upon such as bear interest to the last day of December next, inclusively; which said certificates shall be of these several descriptions, to wit:

Those issued by the Register of the Treasury.

Those issued by the commissioners of loans in the several States, including certificates given pursuant to the act of Congress of the second of January one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, for bills of credit of the several emissions of the twentieth of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

Those issued by the commissioners for the adjustment of the accounts of the quartermaster, commissary, hospital, clothing and marine departments.

Those issued by the commissioners for the adjustment of accounts in the respective states.

Those issued by the late and present paymaster-general, or commissioner of army accounts.

Those issued for the payment of interest, commonly called indentments of interest.

And in the bills of credit issued by the authority of the United States in Congress assembled, at the rate of one hundred dollars in the said bills for one dollar in specie.

And be it further enacted, That for the whole or any part of any sum subscribed to the said loan, by any person or persons, or body politic, which shall be paid in the principal of the said domestic debt, the subscriber or subscribers shall be entitled to a certificate, purporting that the United States owe to the holder or holders thereof, his, her or their assigns, a sum to be expressed therein, equal to two thirds of the sum so paid, bearing an interest of six per centum per annum, payable quarter yearly, and subject to redemption by payments not exceeding in one year, on account both of principal and interest, the proportion of eight dollars upon a hundred of the sum mentioned in such certificate; and to another

certificate purporting that the United States owe to the holder or holders thereof, his, her or their assigns, a sum to be expressed therein, equal to the proportion of thirty-three dollars and one third of a dollar upon a hundred of the sum so paid, which after the year one thousand eight hundred shall bear an interest of six per centum per annum, payable quarter yearly, and subject to redemption by payments not exceeding in one year, on account both of principal and interest, the proportion of eight dollars upon a hundred of the sum mentioned in such certificate: *Provided*, That it shall not be understood that the United States shall be bound or obliged to redeem in the proportion aforesaid, but it shall be understood only that they have a right so to do.

And be it further enacted, That for the whole or any part of any sum subscribed to the said loan by any person or persons, or body politic, which shall be paid in the interest of the said domestic debt, computed to the last day of December next, or in the said certificates issued in payment of interest, commonly called indentments of interest, the subscriber or subscribers shall be entitled to a certificate purporting that the United States owe to the holder or holders thereof, his, her or their assigns, a sum to be specified therein, equal to that by him, her or them so paid, bearing an interest of three per centum per annum, payable quarter yearly, and subject to redemption by payment of the sum specified therein, whenever provision shall be made by law for that purpose.

And be it further enacted, That a commissioner be appointed for each State, to reside therein, whose duty it shall be to superintend the subscriptions to the said loan; to open books for the same; to receive the certificates which shall be presented in payment thereof; to liquidate the specie value of such of them as shall not have been before liquidated; to issue the certificates above mentioned in lieu thereof, according to the terms of each subscription; to enter in books to be kept for that purpose, credits to the respective subscribers to the said loan for the sums to which they shall be respectively entitled; to transfer the said credits upon the said books from time to time as shall be requisite; to pay the interest thereupon as the same shall become due, and generally to observe and perform such directions and regulations as shall be prescribed to him by the Secretary of the Treasury, touching the execution of his office.

And be it further enacted, That the stock which shall be created pursuant to this act, shall be transferable only on the books of the Treasury, or of the said commissioners respectively, upon which the credit for the same shall exist at the time of transfer, by the proprietor or proprietors of such stock his, her or their attorney: But it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury, by special warrant under his hand and the seal of the Treasury, countersigned by the comptroller, and registered by the Register, at the request of the respective proprietors, to authorize the transfer of such stock, from the books of one commissioner to those of another commissioner, or to those of the Treasury, and from those of the Treasury to those of a commissioner.

And be it further enacted, That the interest upon the said stock as the same shall become due, shall be payable quarter yearly, that is to say, one fourth part thereof on the last day of March; one other fourth part thereof on the last day of June; one other fourth part thereof on the last day of September; and the remaining fourth part thereof on the last day of December in each year, beginning on the last day of March next ensuing, and payment shall be made wherefore the credit for the said stock shall exist at the time such interest shall become due, that is to say, at the treasury, if the credit for the same shall then exist on the books of the treasury, or at the office of the commissioner upon whose books such credit shall then exist. But if the interest for one quarter shall not be demanded before the expiration of a third quarter, the same shall be afterwards demandable only at the treasury.

And as it may happen that some of the creditors of the United States may not think fit to become subscribers to the said loan,

Be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed in any wise to alter, abridge or impair the rights of those creditors of the United States, who shall not subscribe to the said loan, or the contracts upon which their respective claims are founded, but the said contracts and rights shall remain in full force and virtue.

And that such creditors may not be excluded from a participation in the benefit hereby intended to the creditors of the United States in general, while the said proposed loan shall be depending, and until it shall appear from the event, thereof what farther or other arrangements may be necessary respecting the said domestic debt.

Be it therefore further enacted, That such of the creditors of the United States as may not subscribe to the said loan, shall nevertheless receive during the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, a rate per centum on the respective amounts of their respective demands, including interest to the last day of December next, equal to the interest payable to subscribing creditors, to be paid at the same times, at the same places, and by the same persons as is herein before directed, concerning the interest on the stock which may be created in virtue of the said proposed loan. But as some of the certificates now in circulation have not heretofore been liquidated to specie value, as most of them are greatly subject to counterfeit, and counterfeits have actually taken place in numerous instances, and as embarrassment and imposition might, for these reasons, attend the payment of interest on those certificates in their present form, it shall therefore be necessary to entitle the said creditors to the benefit of the said payment that those of them who do not possess certificates issued by the Register of the Treasury, for the registered debt, should produce previous to the first day of June next, their respective certificates, either at the Treasury of the United States, or to some one of the commissioners to be appointed as aforesaid, to the end that the same may be cancelled, and other certificates issued in lieu thereof; which new certificates shall specify the specie amount of those in exchange for which they are given, and shall be otherwise of the like tenor with those heretofore issued by the said Register of the Treasury for the said registered debt, and shall be transferable on the like principles with those directed to be issued on account of the subscriptions to the loan hereby proposed.

And be it further enacted, That the commissioners who shall be appointed pursuant to this act, shall respectively be entitled to the following yearly salaries—that is to say: The commissioner for the state of New-Hampshire, six hundred and fifty dollars: The commissioner for the state of Massachusetts, fifteen hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, six hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of Connecticut, one thousand dollars: The commissioner for the state of New-York, fifteen hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of New-Jersey, seven hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of Pennsylvania, fifteen hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of Delaware, six hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of Maryland, one thousand dollars: The commissioner for the state of Virginia, fifteen hundred dollars: The commissioner for the state of North Carolina, one thousand dollars: The commissioner for the state of South Carolina, one thousand dollars: The commissioner for the state of Georgia, seven hundred dollars: Which salaries shall be in full compensation for all services and expenses.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners before they enter upon the execution of their several offices, shall respectively take an oath or affirmation for the diligent and faithful execution of their trust, and shall also become bound with one or more sureties to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury, in a penalty not less five thousand, nor more than ten thousand dollars, with condition for their good behavior in their said offices respectively.

And whereas a provision for the debts of the respective States by the United States, would be greatly conducive to an orderly, economical and effectual arrangement of the public finances:

Be it therefore further enacted, That a loan be proposed, to the a-

mount of twenty-one million and five hundred thousand dollars, and that subscriptions to the said loan be received at the same times and places, and by the same persons, as in respect to the loan herein before proposed, concerning the domestic debt of the United States. And that the sums which shall be subscribed to the said loan, shall be payable in the principal and interest of the certificates or notes, which prior to the first day of January last, were issued by the respective States, as acknowledgments or evidences of debts by them respectively owing, except certificates issued by the commissioners of army accounts in the state of North-Carolina in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six: *Provided*, That no greater sum shall be received in the certificates of any State, than as follows: That is to say,

- In those of New-Hampshire, three hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of Massachusetts, four million dollars.
- In those of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, two hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of Connecticut, one million six hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of New-York, one million two hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of New-Jersey, eight hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of Pennsylvania, two million two hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of Delaware, two hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of Maryland, eight hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of Virginia, three million five hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of North-Carolina, two million four hundred thousand dollars.
- In those of South-Carolina, four million dollars.
- In those of Georgia, three hundred thousand dollars.

And provided, That no such certificate shall be received, which from the tenor thereof, or from any public record, act, or document, shall appear or can be ascertained to have been issued for any purpose, other than compensations and expenditures for services or supplies towards the prosecution of the late war, and the defence of the United States, or of some part thereof during the same.

*Provided also, and be it further enacted*, That if the total amount of the sums which shall be subscribed to the said loan in the debt of any State, within the time limited for receiving subscriptions thereto, shall exceed the sum by this act allowed to be subscribed within such State, the certificates and credits granted to the respective subscribers, shall bear such proportion to the sums by them respectively subscribed, as the total amount of the said sums shall bear to the whole sum so allowed to be subscribed in the debt of such State within the same. And every subscriber to the said loan, shall, at the time of subscribing, deposit with the commissioner the certificates or notes to be loaned by him.

And be it further enacted, That for two-thirds of any sum subscribed to the said loan, by any person or persons or body politic, which shall be paid in the principal and interest of the certificates or notes issued as aforesaid by the respective States, the subscriber or subscribers shall be entitled to a certificate, purporting that the United States owe to the holder or holders thereof, or his, her or their assigns, a sum to be expressed therein, equal to two thirds of the aforesaid two-thirds, bearing an interest of six per centum per annum, payable quarter yearly, and subject to redemption by payments, not exceeding in one year, on account both of principal and interest, the proportion of eight dollars upon a hundred of the sum mentioned in such certificate, and to another certificate, purporting that the United States owe to the holder or holders thereof, his, her or their assigns, a sum to be expressed therein, equal to the proportion of thirty-three dollars and one third of a dollar, upon a hundred of the said two thirds of such sum so subscribed, which after the year one thousand eight hundred, shall bear an interest of six per centum per annum, payable quarter yearly, and subject to redemption by payments, not exceeding in one year, on account both of principal and interest, the proportion of eight dollars upon a hundred of the sum mentioned in such certificate, and that for the remaining third of any sum so subscribed, the subscriber or subscribers shall be entitled to a certificate, purporting that the United States owe to the holder or holders thereof, his, her or their assigns, a sum to be expressed therein equal to the said remaining third, bearing an interest of three per cent. per annum, payable quarter yearly, and subject to redemption by payment of the sum specified therein whenever provision shall be made by law for that purpose.

And be it further enacted, That the interest upon the certificates which shall be received in payment of the sums subscribed towards the said loan, shall be computed to the last day of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety one inclusively; and the interest upon the stock which shall be created by virtue of the said loan, shall commence or begin to accrue on the first day of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety two, and shall be payable quarter-yearly, at the same time, and in like manner as the interest on the stock to be created by virtue of the loan above proposed in the domestic debt of the United States.

And be it further enacted, That if the whole sum allowed to be subscribed in the debt or certificates of any State as aforesaid, shall not be subscribed within the time for that purpose limited, such State shall be entitled to receive, and shall receive from the United States, an interest per centum per annum, upon so much of the said sum as shall not have been so subscribed, equal to that which would have accrued on the deficiency, had the same been subscribed, in trust for the non-subscribing creditors of such State, who are holders of certificates or notes issued on account of services or supplies towards the prosecution of the late war, and the defence of the United States or of some part thereof, to be paid in like manner as the interest on the stock which may be created by virtue of the said loan, and to continue until there shall be a settlement of accounts between the United States and the individual States; and in case a balance shall then appear in favor of such State, until provision shall be made for the said balance.

But as certain States have respectively issued their own certificates, in exchange for those of the United States, whereby it might happen that interest might be twice payable on the same sums:

And be it further enacted, That the payment of interest, whether to States or to individuals, in respect to the debt of any State, by which such exchange shall have been made, shall be suspended, until it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury, that certificates issued for that purpose by such State, have been re-exchanged or redeemed, or until those which shall not have been re-exchanged or redeemed, shall be surrendered to the United States.

And be it further enacted, That so much of the debt of each State as shall be subscribed to the said loan, and the monies (if any) that shall be advanced to the same pursuant to this act, shall be a charge against such State, in account with the United States.

And be it further enacted, That the monies arising under the revenue laws, which have been, or during the present session of Congress may be passed, or so much thereof, as may be necessary, shall be, and are hereby pledged and appropriated for the payment of the interest on the stock which shall be created by the loans aforesaid, pursuant to the provisions of this act, first paying the interest which shall arise on the stock created by virtue of the said first mentioned loan, to continue so pledged and appropriated, until the final redemption of the said stock, any law to the contrary notwithstanding, subject nevertheless to such reservations and priorities as may be requisite to satisfy the appropriations heretofore made, and which during the present session of Congress may be made by law, including the sums herein before reserved and appropriated; and to the end, that the said monies may be inviolably applied in conformity to this act, and may never be diverted to any other purpose, an account shall be kept of the receipts and disposition thereof separate and distinct from the product of any other duties, imposts, excises and taxes whatsoever, except such as

may be hereafter laid, to make good any deficiency which may be found in the product thereof, towards satisfying the interest aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That the faith of the United States be, and the same is hereby pledged to provide and appropriate hereafter such additional and permanent funds as may be requisite towards supplying any such deficiency, and making full provision for the payment of the interest which shall accrue on the stock to be created by virtue of the loans aforesaid, in conformity to the terms thereof respectively, and according to the tenor of the certificates to be granted for the same pursuant to this act.

And be it further enacted, That the proceeds of the sales which shall be made of lands in the western territory now belonging, or that may hereafter belong to the United States, shall be, and are hereby appropriated towards sinking or discharging the debts, for the payment whereof the United States now are or by virtue of this act may be holden, and shall be applied solely to that use until the said debts shall be fully satisfied.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLBERG,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN ADAMS, Vice-President of the United States,  
and President of the Senate.

APPROVED, AUGUST THE FOURTH, 1790.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States.

(TRUE COPY.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Secretary of State.

## CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.  
FRIDAY, JULY 23.

Debate on the Amendment of the Senate to the Funding Bill, to assume a part of the State Debts.

(CONCLUDED.)

Mr. JACKSON.

THE more checks there are to any government, the freer will its citizens be. The State powers are a most effectual and necessary check against encroachments from the government of the Union. The assumption, by annihilating the powers of the State governments, will prove a decisive and fatal stroke at that check.

A gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Ames) has asked if the tendency of this measure will be to evil, rather than to common benefit—he is of the latter opinion, altho' he allows this to be a vague question—If sir, the question is vague or dubious, surely he will not adopt it.—He says however, that it will prevent interference between the State governments and that of the Union, and prevent the usurpation of one upon the other.

That it will prevent usurpation is a fact, I will grant the gentleman; for sir, if the assumption takes place there will be nothing left to usurp. The States will be deprived of every thing but the shadow of power—they will be reduced to the State of mere colonies, with not even the power they possessed previous to the revolution.

That gentleman has likewise told us of the protection the measure would enable the government of the Union to afford the respective States.

Sir, if we were under the government of a despotic prince, I suppose that we should be well protected against foreign tyrants, but how should we be protected against himself—we should lay at his mercy and become his property.—The gentleman's argument therefore goes too far, when it tends to prove the more power we give the government, the better we shall be protected. Sir, the competition so far from being an injury is in my opinion a benefit—jealousies are necessary in all free countries, and as long as those jealousies exist, the people will be safe—whether therefore the State governments are to be considered as rivals, watchmen, or legislators, State powers are absolutely necessary.

The gentleman from Connecticut has noticed an argument respecting the ratio of contribution by impost, and has alluded to the journal of Congress of the 29th of April, 1783, where he says it is clearly proved that the States contribute to impost in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The gentleman from Massachusetts has likewise noticed this—I grant those gentlemen that the consumer pays, but I deny that the States pay agreeably to population—they contribute sir, agreeably to habit. Connecticut manufactures a great deal, and she imports little. Georgia manufactures nothing, and imports every thing. Therefore Georgia, altho' her population is not near so large, contributes more to the public treasury by impost.

But admitting the force of the gentleman's arguments, and let it be fixed at population—yet sir, on the principles of justice, the arguments so far as respects the assumption must fail. Impost, as well as all other taxes is an imposition, and only to be permitted in cases of necessity, or where preservation to government requires it—it is an actual encroachment on the peoples rights in any other view—Vattel, the celebrated writer on the Laws of Nations, calls the freedom of commerce, a natural right, and says that instead of burthens and restrictions, it is the duty of all nations to give it the utmost freedom, and that restrictions can only be justified on very important reasons, arising from the public good.

In America, that necessity has originated from the public debt, and the necessity will remain as long as the public debt exists. Add to that debt, and you add to the necessity—go on in that ratio and you may keep the necessity for ever. But sir, shall we, to strengthen the government, add to our debts and injure the people.

It has however been advanced that the citizens have given this into our hands; that we are in the exercise of it, and it has been implied that we shall always keep it.—The gentlemen who use this language know not the people of America. Sir, it is expected, and I hope never will be lost sight of, that when the necessity is at an end the duties will be taken off. Besides, is the impost more in our power than the excise, or direct taxation. The one is equally given us with the other, and you may carry direct taxation as far. We are not confined in our powers, and if Congress chuse to tax the citizens to the whole amount of their estates, there is power sufficient in the constitution to warrant it. But sir, would the citizens submit to it. So far am I from agreeing with the gentleman, that I can assure them it was expected that the States would have been credited for the imposts they furnished.

The gentleman from Connecticut, has noticed an argument of mine respecting the debt of Georgia, but he has not retuted the justice of it.—He says it is an additional reason for assuming.—Sir, I do not believe that there are twenty original holders in Georgia—the original holders received no interest nor expected any—they parted with the certificates as they stood, without interest—the speculators now hold them, and contrary to the tenor of the certificates, the intention of the State, and the contract they made, they will be allowed interest.—Here will be a prodigious distinction, the one half the creditors of Georgia receiving interest the others none—how is this to be reconciled? Besides, sir, the debt will be increased one half; there will be an additional debt, if interest is allowed on the whole of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, supposing the debt to amount to seven hundred thousand—will the original holder who did the service or furnished the supply, be contented to be taxed to supply this interest, when he himself was not allowed it?

Another argument arises now against the measure which did not exist at a former day—the excise which had began to set the continent in a flame, has been rejected. Are there members hardy enough to sanction and adopt it now, after they have exerted themselves against it?—For this must be the case, or it will be again rejected.—Will this house as I before mentioned, be like the

long parliament of England, who first adopted the measure, will they foster it in secret whilst they apparently reject it? Where else I ask are the ways and means to satisfy this accumulated debt? Your impost is stretched to the utmost—if you go farther you will not only oppress the people but lose your revenue—will you proceed to direct taxation?—We have been informed that the people will not submit to it.

If the House, sir, will not listen to the voice of reason, and are determined to assume—still sir, I insist that this is not the period.—The respective States ought to be consulted, and the measure should appear the result, not of party or bargain, but the result of deliberation, which all our measures at the least ought to wear the appearance of.—It will appear to be the former, if adopted now after so many decisions.—Even in Massachusetts, let us listen to the warning of a Hancock, that Father of 1776, who by his signature first pronounced you a free nation—hear the venerable patriot expressing his doubts of the powers of Congress in this respect without the consent of the respective States first obtained. Her Legislature, in compliance instructed their Senators and Representatives—this was done altho' we were told on this floor about that time that the country was over loaded with debt, and her citizens borne down with the weight of taxes.—What other States have done the same? None but South-Carolina—so that the two States only which are interested in this business have received instructions from their Legislatures.—Let me ask this House, if those two States have received instructions, where so much interested, if the other States should not also be consulted and where they are to receive no benefit from the measure?—I request the House to think of the evil consequences of it before it is too late and at least to postpone it until the next session.—If it is good now it will be good then.—If it is not adopted now, it can then; but, if it is assumed at the present session we shall be bound without the power of relieving ourselves again from the burthen.—Let us not exhibit a monument to mankind of the impossibility of preserving the foundations of our government in immense debts.

Sir, our times, happily I believe for the country, are near expiring.—We shall return to the mass of the people and participate in the burthens we impose.—When the cool hour of investigation arrives—happy indeed will it be for us, if amidst the murmur of an oppressed people, we have not to cry in self condemnation—I too have been guilty of bringing this load of sin on the nation and this debt of fetters on the people.—America Sir, will not always think, as is the fashion of the present day; and when the iron hand of tyranny is felt—denunciations will fall on those, who by imposing this enormous and iniquitous debt, will beggar the people and bind them in chains.

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4.

An engrossed bill declaring the assent of Congress to certain acts of the State of Maryland, Georgia, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, for raising a duty on the tonnage of ships or vessels entering the ports of Petapscot, Savannah, and Providence, was read the third time and passed.

A message was received from the President of the United States informing the House that two resolves and four acts which originated in the House had received his assent—viz: A resolve respecting the pay of the Clerks in the office of the Commissioner of army accounts.—A resolve for defraying the expence of procuring Seals for the Supreme, Circuit and district Courts of the United States. 1st. An act making provision for the debt of the United States. 2nd. An act to provide more effectually for the collection of the duties imposed by law on goods, wares and merchandizes imported into the United States, and on the tonnage of ships or vessels. 3. An act to continue in force for a limited time an act, intitled, "An act for the temporary establishment of the post-office. 4. An act for the relief of John Stewart and John Davidson.

Mr. Madison, Mr. Vining, and Mr. Wadsworth were appointed a committee to prepare and bring in a bill to add two commissioners to the board already established for the settlement of the accounts between the United States and the individual states.

The house went into committee on the bill further to make provision for the debt of the United States, so far as respects the assumption of the debt of the state of Georgia; after some time spent thereon, the committee rose and reported certain amendments.

On the question to order the bill engrossed, it was negatived, and so the bill was rejected.

Mr. Madison from the committee appointed, presented according to order, a bill to add two commissioners to the board for settling accounts. The house went immediately into committee on the said bill—and after some debate it was agreed to—Ayes 36—Noes 19.

The committee rose, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. Boudinot reported a bill to satisfy the claims of the widow of the late Major General Lord Stirling.

## THURSDAY, AUGUST 5.

Two bills were passed to be engrossed this day, viz. A bill making an appropriation to discharge the claim of Sarah Stirling, widow of the late Major Gen. Lord Stirling.—A bill authorising the Secretary of the Treasury to take measures for finishing the Light-House at Portland Head in the District of Maine—provided the expence shall not exceed 1500 dollars.

The bill for adding two Commissioners to the board for settling the accounts between the United States and individual States was passed.

A message was received from the President of the United States, informing the house that the act to provide more effectually for settling the accounts between the United States and the individual States had received his assent.

Mr. Bloodworth's motion for appointing a committee to prepare and bring in a bill to repeal for a limited time the 5th section of the act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the government of the United States, was taken up.

Mr. Vining moved the previous question on this motion, and being supported by five members—The question was taken "Shall the main question be now put," the Yeas and Nays were called.

For putting the main question.

AYES.

Messrs. Benson, Bloodworth, Burke, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Grout, Hathorn, Huger, Huntington, Lawrance, Leonard, Livermore, Rendlellar, Schureman, Sevier, Silvester, Smith, (M.) Smith (S. C.) Sturges, Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth.—23.

NOES.

Messrs. Ames, Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Cadwalader, Carroll, Clymer, Coles, Fitzsimons, Gale, Gilman, Goodhue, Hartley, Heister, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Mathews, Moore, P. Muhlenberg, Page, Parker, Partridge, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sinickson, Steele, Stone, Sumpter, Tucker, Vining, White, Wynkoop, Williamson.—35.

The House resolved, that a Surveyor-General, for the United States, be appointed, who shall forthwith, proceed to the completion of the surveys of all lands heretofore sold under the authority of the late Congress.

A message was received from the Senate returning the bill further providing for the payment of the debts of the United States; to which they have made several amendments. The house proceeded to consider the said amendments, and made some progress therein.

A petition of A. Macomb, and W. Edgar, respecting a contract they have made with the late Congress for lands, was read and referred to the Secretary of the Treasury.—Adjourned.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6.

The bill making an appropriation to discharge the claims of the widow Stirling—and the bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to finish the Light House on Portland head—were read the third time and passed.

Mr. Fitzsimons introduced the following resolution—That the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session, and to adjourn the respective houses on Monday next—to meet again on the first Monday in December next; on motion, "Monday" was struck out and Tuesday inserted—A motion to expunge "December," and to insert March occasioned some debate, and was finally negatived.

Mr. Vining introduced a resolution to the following purport, which was agreed to—That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed, in the recess of Congress, to ascertain the amount of the arrearages due to the Invalid Pensioners of the United States, and to the Widows of deceased Officers—and report at the next session.

The amendments of the Senate to the bill, making further provision for the payment of the debts of the United States, were taken up.—The house proceeded in the consideration of the amendments; sundry alterations were proposed, but were not agreed to—A motion made by Mr. Smith, (S. C.) to strike out 12 cents, the duty on salt, for the purpose of inserting 9 cents, occasioned a considerable debate. The question on striking out was determined in the negative, ayes 28—noes 30. [Names will appear in our next.]

The house went thro the amendments, and agreed to the whole with very few alterations. A message was received from the President of the United States with the ratification by the State of New-Jersey, of the amendments proposed by Congress to the constitution of the United States; New-Jersey has ratified all the amendments except the second and thirteenth.

A message was received from the Senate, with the bill to compensate Thomas Barclay, for various services; concurred in with amendments.

Mr. Vining reported a bill for the relief of Adam Caldwell, which was read the first and second time.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) moved for leave to bring in a bill for altering the times of holding the courts in South-Carolina and Georgia.—Adjourned till to-morrow 10 o'clock.

## NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 7.

APPOINTMENTS.—BY AUTHORITY.

William Perry, of the State of Delaware, one of the Judges in the Territory of the United States, south of the River Ohio.—John Stokes, Judge of the North-Carolina District, vice, William R. Davie, declined. Samuel Russell Gerry, Collector of the port of Marblehead, vice, Richard Harris, deceased. Zachariah Rhodes, surveyor of the port of Patuxet, vice, John Anthony Aborn, declined. Thomas Arnold, surveyor of the port of East-Greenwich, vice, Job Comstock, declined. Joshua Johnson of Maryland, Consul of the U. S. of America for the port of London. Daniel Elbridge Updike, surveyor of the port of North-Kington, R. Island. John Street, of Fayal, Vice Consul of the U.S. for the Island of Fayal. Ebenezer Bruff of New York, Consul of the U. S. for the port of Surinam.

We hear that the Hon. General Knox is appointed a commissioner for negotiating a treaty with the Chiefs of the Creek nation now in this city.

The drawing of the City Lottery began last Thursday—Several prizes of 200. and one of 500. are the highest yet drawn.

A Sermon, on a Charitable occasion, will be preached by Dr. Witherspoon to-morrow, in the Old Presbyterian Church.

The Tablet, and sundry other favors, unavoidably excluded this day by the Funding Bill.

LONDON, May 12.

YESTERDAY, in the House of Commons, a message was received from the Lords, that they will proceed further on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. on Tuesday next.

Mr. Secretary Grenville moved that an account of the number of vessels and their tonnage employed in the Southern Whale Fishery be laid before the house.

Mr. Fox wished that an account might be added of the trade to Nootka Sound.

Mr. Grenville said, he had applied to the persons engaged in that trade, from whom such information as he could obtain should be laid before the house.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan said, it was extremely necessary to have as correct an account of this as could be obtained—and also to be informed whether any settlement, and of what nature, was forming, or intended to be formed on the coast.

Mr. Grenville said, he was not yet prepared to give any information on either subject.

The report of the Committee of Supply was brought up, and the resolutions being read,

Mr. Fox said, he understood the general intent of the vote of credit to be, to provide for the uncertain expenses that must necessarily be incurred, should the hopes of the country be disappointed, and Spain refuse an amicable accommodation. But he had heard that orders for an augmentation of the forces by sea and land were already issued. If this was true, he saw no reason why the estimates of these augmentations might not be referred to a Committee of Supply—a committee of Ways and Means voted the money necessary immediately—and made provision for paying the interest of it. No maxim in finance could be truer, than that the means of paying any expence should go hand in hand with the expence itself. There was no end to the mischiefs arising from spending money one year, and providing for the payment the next. The public also should know at once the extent of any expence, as nearly as possible, in order to judge of the expediency of it. The House, therefore, had a right to be informed why a vote of credit, without an estimate had been preferred to the other mode.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, to have voted estimates in a Committee of Supply would have implied, that the augmentation of the forces was to be kept up for the whole year—and money must have been borrowed, and taxes imposed to pay the interest, before it was known with certainty that either would be wanted. Altho it was true that augmentations were already ordered, these augmentations might not be completed in one year, or might not be sufficient in another—and if the hopes of an amicable accommodation should be disappointed, provision might be made for the additional expence, which would then become necessary, by as early an application to Parliament as public convenience would admit.

Mr. Fox said, he never meant to assert that estimates voted under the bare apprehension of war would be sufficient, if war should actually ensue, but that the augmentations already ordered might have been voted and provided for in the regular way.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that would have been to continue, for a whole year, augmentations, which, in the event of an amicable accommodation, might not be wanted for so long a time, or might not even be all made.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The House resolved into a committee, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after stating the amount of the claims given in by the American Loyalists, the amount allowed by the Commissioners, and the sums already paid, moved

That the sum of 224,000*l.* be granted for further payments—and

The sum of 22,000*l.* to make good the losses sustained by certain persons, inhabitants of the United States of America.

Some of these, he said, had sustained very heavy losses by a conduct that entitled them to the munificence of this country—and it was found, on enquiry, that the reason why they had not applied in person for compensation, was, that their losses had deprived them of the means of leaving America.

These were all the motions for money he meant now to make—but he gave notice, that, on Thursday next, he should propose a compensation in the way of perpetual annuity to the Penn family, whose losses were estimated by the Commissioners at 500,000*l.* and also for some other claims not yet provided for.

The resolutions were agreed to.

He then moved a mode of compensation for such persons as sustained losses by supplying the army or the navy with stores or provisions, &c.

For such as suffered by losses of income arising from offices.

These resolutions were also agreed to.

Mr. Sheridan said, he had a motion to make, which he knew not whether he had worded properly; but the purport of it was, to obtain information whether the trade to Nootka Sound, and the settlement forming, or intended to be formed there, was undertaken under the sanction

and authority of Government, or merely as an enterprize of private persons.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer wished the motion to be postponed till the information promised in his Majesty's answer to the Address could be laid before the House. Licenses to trade to Nootka Sound had been granted; and he knew of no authority for that, or any other purpose, but such as those licenses contained.

Mr. Sheridan said, what the house had now heard, that the settlement was a private enterprize, was very material.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, whether the settlement was or was not a private enterprize, there could be no doubt that it was incumbent on the honor of the country to demand satisfaction for any insult or injury offered to its subjects, whether in their private capacity of traders, or acting under the more immediate sanction of government.

Mr. Sheridan said, if the Right Hon. Gentleman meant to insinuate that he did not think the country bound in honor to protect every subject from insult or injury, he had put a construction on his words which they would not bear.

The motion was postponed.

JUNE 4.

The information contained in the most authentic letters from Madrid, give as a reason for the large armaments fitting out that, as a general Congress is to be shortly holden at Frankfort, to which ambassadors from all the powers in Europe will be sent, the king of Spain has thought fit to place his naval and military establishments on a respectable footing, to give a proper consequence to this embassy.

The Ducal class of the Peerage, independent of Regal Titles, is Twenty in number. Extinction will, at no very distant period, reduce it to Seventeen; and as the House of Hanover is likely to extend its branches, we understand it to be the Sovereign's determination to raise no other subject but those of the Blood Royal to this superior rank of British nobility.

At the Grand Musical Entertainment in Westminster Abbey, on Saturday the 29th May, there were 1300 performers present.

Major Scott, member of Parliament, was reprimanded by the Speaker, for a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting on the justice and honor of the house, and on the conduct of the managers of the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq.

There were in the prisons of the Chateaux in Paris, on the 26th May, 800 prisoners.

Last week died at Portsmouth, in the 70th year of his age, Mr. William Chantrell, a master in his Majesty's navy, who particularly distinguished himself at Trincomale, in the East-Indies, on the 16th of December 1747, by the cool intrepidity of his conduct, on an occasion where few would perhaps have shewn the same contempt of danger. In bringing powder from the magazine, one of the boats blew up, and a large fire brand fell blazing into another boat, in which was forty-five barrels of powder, covered only by a sail, stove one of the barrels, and must inevitably have sent all the people employed, like dry rockets, into the air, had not Mr. Chantrell taken the burning brand from the powder, thrown it overboard, and then, quenching the remains of the fire which lay upon the sail, restored all to safety and quiet. The late Commodore Boys, who was then Capt. of the Pearl, from this circumstance, immediately took the subject of this paragraph under his protection, and he was fortunate enough in the war before last, to secure a handsome competence.

A person who fills an inferior situation in one of the public offices in this city, and who has resided at a village within seven miles, for some years past, from a frugal turn of mind, has actually picked up as many bricks upon the road, on his way home one evening, as have lately built him a neat dwelling-house!—No trivial lesson of preferance.

NEWYORK, AUGUST 4.

On Monday the 12th ult. there was a violent tempest at Leominster, Massachusetts, attended with hail which was of such a size, and fell with such velocity, that the stoutest indian corn was beaten into shreds—vast quantities of apples were beaten from the trees—not only the fruit but the trees received great injury, the bark being broken from their limbs; the windows broken in the houses, and the fences received such impressions, as to be discovered at 90 yards distance. Many of the hail stones were as large as hens eggs—the common size was a little more than an inch in diameter. Twenty four hours after it fell, banks of it were measured at the foot of a hill, and found to be 26 inches deep.

The Saturday following great damage was done by hail at Shrewsbury, county of Worcester.

EXTRACTS.

Of all the curses that can befall a free people, there is none perhaps greater, than to be hoodwinked and led blind-fold by demagogues and State Empirics.

Demagogues will cry up an appeal to the people, but then it is only when they have previously poisoned their understandings—when the people are left to the natural freedom of their own minds, they discover and despise the ravings of the factious. A pragmatical orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you whenever they are in their wits. It is ill arguing from particulars to generals,

and therefore the character of a country should not be drawn from the samples exhibited by individuals; especially when it is considered that whim and vanity send many abroad.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

It may be a profitable subject of enquiry, what are the principal causes which produce the subversion of free governments—luxury, ambition and avarice, are undoubtedly the three great leading principles; but the operation of these, appears in an almost infinite variety of forms. Economy is a darling virtue in a republic—this often leads to impatience under the necessary expenses, delays and procrastinations of popular assemblies—and the people, from contrasting the tardiness of public measures under the direction of a numerous body, with the prompt and rapid movements of an energetic executive, are gradually led to depreciate the former, and unduly to estimate the latter; the consequence is justly to be dreaded; for when the public confidence and respect, is transformed from one particular branch of the government, and centers in another, a preponderation of influence necessarily takes place, which commonly proves paramount to all the barriers of freedom. How far these reflections will apply to the present situation of affairs, is left to the profound, penetrating, sagacious, jealous politicians of the day. One very obvious reflection obtrudes itself, and that is, that it is of infinite importance that all the branches of the government should harmonize as much as possible; for an indignity offered to one, strikes at the vital existence of all three.

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